INTRODUCTION TO THE MENEXENUS.

Although it is generally a matter of little moment, how the dialogues of Plato follow each other, yet it is not without a purpose that I have placed the Menexenus after the Laches. For while in the one there is a discussion on Fortitude considered abstractedly, in the other are to be found convincing proofs of the manner in which the Athenians conducted themselves, when their Fortitude was put to the severest test, during their wars abroad, and dissensions at home; and when, like some states of modern times, they met, after a series of victories, with signal reverses, and found their very capital in the hands of their enemies, and a new form of government imposed upon them by the victors.

The object of the dialogue, or rather of the oration contained in it, is to celebrate the country, and the deeds of those who were to be honoured by a public funeral, after they had fallen in the fight that took place near Nemea, according to Xenophon in H. Gr. iv. 2, 8, and to which Demosthenes alludes in Leptin. § 41, as the great battle near Corinth.

But as that event occurred after the death of Socrates, Plato has, it would seem with the view of showing that the whole is a fiction, put the speech into the mouth of his master, and feigned, as in the case of Diotima in the Banquet, that the philosopher had been the pupil of Aspasia, and merely repeated what he had learnt as a lesson from her.

With regard to the details of a public funeral at Athens, it will be sufficient to refer to Thucydides ii. 34., who has there attributed to Pericles what he had written, no doubt, himself, just as Plato has done in the case of Socrates.

According to Dionysius, the Athenians commenced the practice

of pronouncing funeral orations at the close of the Persian invasion under Xerxes: and if any reliance is to be placed on Philostratus, Gorgias wrote the one spoken over those who had fallen at Salamis. And it was perhaps with the view of showing himself, if not superior, at least equal, to that celebrated Sophist, that Plato was induced to compose his own speech; from the perusal of which Cicero was led to declare, that had the philosopher chosen to become a pleader, his style would have been at once fluent and grave.

Despite however the testimony of the Roman orator, who has on various occasions alluded to this speech, and translated even a portion of it, Schleiermacher, with whom Ast and Goettling on Aristotle's Polit. ii. 6, p. 328, agree, has ventured to call in question its genuineness by arguments, to which Loers has in his edition given a full and, as I conceive, a satisfactory reply. But as the discussion is too long, even if it were requisite, for insertion here, it will be sufficient to state, that, as the dialogue is twice referred to by Aristotle, if it be not Plato's, it must be the production of some unknown writer, who, living between the time of Plato and Aristotle, was clever enough to imitate so completely the style of a man generally considered inimitable, as to deceive not only his most ardent admirer Cicero, but his perpetual opponent Aristotle.

With respect to one of the grounds on which the accusation of spuriousness rests, that Plato has made some statements at variance with the truth of history, Stalbaum acutely observes that such a step was doubtless taken designedly; for Plato would otherwise have failed to preserve the correctness of his ridicule of the orators; who, with the view of tickling the ears of their audience, were guilty of similar aberrations from the strict line of truth, as seems to have been proved by Cæcilius in his lost work, mentioned by Suidas, *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ ἱστορίαν ἢ παρὰ ἱστορίαν εἰρημένων τοῖς ῥήτορσι*—"On the statements made by the orators according to history, or contrary to it."

The first translation of the dialogue into English was by Gilbert West, in 1749, which Taylor says he has followed, except where it was not sufficiently close. The second was by myself anonymously, printed at Cambridge in 1835, to which I added a few notes on the Greek text. A portion of it was translated likewise by Mitchell in theQuarterly Review, No. 54, p. 399; and the commencement of it, up to the speech itself, by Shelley, is given in his posthumous Essays and Letters, Ed. Lond. 1845.

MENEXENUS.

PERSONS OF THE DIALOGUE.

SOCRATES AND MENEXENUS.

SOCRATES.

[1.] From the Forum,[1] or from whence,[2] Menexenus?[3]

Men. From the Forum, Socrates, and from the Council-Hall.[4]

Soc. What business had you especially at the Council-Hall? Or is it indeed evident that you deem yourself to have finished your course of learning and philosophy,[5] and as being now all-sufficient,[6] you think of turning yourself to matters of greater moment, and to become, O wonderful man, a ruler at your age over us your elders,[7] so that your family may never fail in supplying us[8] with some person as a guardian?[9]

[1] Although "Forum" is a Latin rather than an English word, yet it has become almost naturalized, as answering the best to the Greek *ἀγορά*.

[2] This ellipse of *εἶ*, is similar to that of "es," in Horace, "Unde et quo, Catius?"

[3] Of this Menexenus nothing more is known than that he was a friend of the Ctesippus mentioned in the Euthydemus, and very captious in argument, and that both of them visited Socrates when in prison. See Lysis, p. 206, D., 211, B., and Phædo, p. 59, B.

[4] The Council-Hall was near the Forum, as stated by Pseudo-Plutarch in ii. p. 842.

[5] By *παίδευσις καὶ φιλοσοφία* were meant all that a youth or man had learnt, or ought to know.

[6] A similar sarcasm is in Clitophon, p. 407, B., directed against those, who, having gone through the education of a youth, fancy themselves to be quite sufficient for the duties of a life of virtue.

[7] Melitus is similarly sneered at in Euthyphr. p. 3, A. § 1.

[8] According to Lucretius in i. 43, "Memmi clara propago," seems "nunquam communi deesse saluti."

[9] The sneer in the word *ἐπιμελητὴς* will be best understood by a passage

Men. If you, Socrates, will permit it, and advise me how to rule, I should be ready to do so; but if otherwise, not. However I went just now to the Council-Hall, on hearing that the Council were about to select [10] the party who is to speak (an oration) over the dead. For you know they are about to ordain a public funeral.

Soc. (I know it) very well. And whom have they selected?

Men. Not one. But they have put it off till to-morrow. I think, however, Archinus [11] or Dion will be selected.

[2.] *Soc.* In good truth, Menexenus, it appears on many accounts to be very nearly a beautiful thing to fall in battle.[12] For if a person dies so, although poor, he meets with a fine and gorgeous burial, and with praise, if he be a person of no mark,[13] from men at once clever, and not extolling at random; but who, having had their speeches prepared for a long time, eulogize so very beautifully that, by saying what is and is not to the purpose upon each point, and making a beautiful tissue of words, they bewitch our very souls, pouring forth in every way encomiums upon the state, and upon those who have died during the war, and upon all [14] [our ancestors],[14] who have lived before us, and [15] [bestowing praise] [15] upon us ourselves, who are still living, so that I feel myself, Menexenus, vastly ennobled in being praised by them, and I stand constantly on tip-toe,[16] and am charmed; fancying that I have be-

in Aristophanes Plut. 908, Πῶς οὖν διέζης ἢ πόθεν, μηδὲν ποιῶν; Τῶν τῆς πόλεώς εἰμ' ἐπιμελητὴς πραγμάτων Καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πάντων. Σύ; τί παθών; Βούλομαι.

[10] According to Demosthenes, Περὶ Στεφάν. p. 321, the people at large, and not the Council alone, selected the speaker.

[11] On this Archinus see Valesius on Harpocration, p. 253. Photius, on Bibliothec. cod. 240, says that Isocrates introduced into his Panegyric much from a funeral oration of Archinus; while Dionysius Halic. p. 1027, ed. R., asserts that Plato imitated those two orators.

[12] So Horace, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

[13] Compare Cicero Pro Quinctio, § 15, "Mors honesta turpem vitam exornat:" and Shakspeare, Henry V., "For he, who sheds this day his blood with us, Shall be my brother, be he ne'er so vile."

[14]—[14] The words within brackets, τοὺς προγόνους, are evidently an interpolation of τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν. In like manner προγόνων has been inserted after τῶν ἄνωθεν ἔτι in § 5.

[15]—[15] The word ἐπαινοῦντες is perfectly unnecessary after the preceding ἐγκωμιάζοντες.

[16] I have adopted αἰωρούμενος for ἀκροώμενος, the splendid restora-

come on the instant [17]taller, and nobler, and handsomer (than before);[17] and as is wont, ever some strangers accompany me, and are fellow-hearers; to whom I appear to be immediately a greater object of respect. For they too seem to be affected in the same way as I am, both towards myself and the rest of the state, being persuaded by the speaker that it is more worthy of wonder than before. And this feeling of self-importance remains with me for more than three days; so greatly does the speech and even the tone of the orator ring in and sink into my ears, that scarcely on the fourth or fifth day do I recollect myself, and perceive where upon earth I am; and for awhile fancy myself only not living in the isles of the blessed.[18] So clever are our orators!

[3.] *Men.* You are always, Socrates, making fun with the orators. For the present however I think the person selected will have no easy task, for the choice is made altogether on a sudden, so that the orator will be compelled to speak perhaps off-hand.

Soc. How so, my good (friend)? The speeches of each of these are ready prepared. Besides it is not difficult to speak

tion of Valckenaer on Callimach. p. 244, who refers to § 20, where *αἰωρεῖται* is used in a sense not very dissimilar. With regard to the idea, compare Eurip. Ion, 1180, *ἐν δ' ἄκροισι βὰς ποσίν.* El. 845, *ὄννχας ἐπ' ἄκρους στάς.* Soph. Aj. 1239, *Ὑψὴλ' ἐκόμπεις κἀπ' ἄκρων ὠδοιπόρεις*: where Musgrave quotes Libanius, i. p. 326, *ἐπ' ἄκρων πορεύεσθαι δακτύλων*: and Aristoph. *Ἀχ.* 581, *κἀπειδὴ τοῦτό τις εἶπoι, Εὐθὺς διὰ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν πυγιδίων ἐκάθησθε*: where the Scholiast observes that *οἱ ἐπαίνων εἰς ἑαυτοὺς γινομένων ἀκούοντες εἰώθασι τὴν πυγὴν, τῆς καθέδρας ἐξαίρειν.* Compare too Lucillius, Sat. viii. "Gallinaceu quum victor se gallus in hostem Sustulit in digitos, primoresque erigit ungues:" and Virgil, "Constitit in digitos arrectus." But the most apposite passages are in Shakspeare, Henry V., "He that outlives this day, and comes safe home, Shall stand on tip-toe, when this day is named." So too in Troilus and Cressida, "'Tis he, I ken the manner of his gait; He rises on the toe; that spirit of his In aspiration lifts him from the earth." Stalbaum defends *ἀκροώμενος* by translating *ἕστηκα*, "I stand astonished." But such is the meaning of *ἐξέστηκα* alone, which is found here in a solitary MS.

[17]—[17] This is well put into the mouth of Socrates, who was of small stature, ignoble birth, and ugly face.

[18] This idea Plato got from Aristophanes in *Σφηκ.* 640, *ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἡὐξανόμην ἀκούων, κἂν μακάρων δικάζειν αὐτὸς ἔδοξα νήσοις, ἡδόμενος λέγοντι*: while Plato himself was probably in the mind of Milton, who says in Comus—"Who, as they sang, would take the prison'd soul, And lap it in Elysium."

off-hand upon such topics. But if it were requisite to speak well of the Athenians amongst Peloponnesians, or of Peloponnesians amongst Athenians, there would be need of a good speaker to persuade (others) and gain (for himself) renown. But when a man enters upon such a contest before those whom he is praising, it seems not a great thing to speak well.

Men. Do you think it is not, Socrates?

Soc. It is not, by Zeus.

Men. Do you think that you would be able to speak yourself, if it were requisite, and the Council were to select you?

Soc. It would, Menexenus, be nothing wonderful, if even I were able to speak, whose teacher happens to be a woman by no means contemptible in oratory; but who has made many other persons good speakers, and, one superior to (all)[19] the Greeks, Pericles,[20] the son of Xanthippus.

Men. Who is she? Or (rather), it is plain that you mean Aspasia.[21]

Soc. I do mean her; and Connus too,[22] the son of Metrobius. For these two are my masters, he in music, and she in oratory. Now that a man thus educated should be a skilful speaker is nothing wonderful; since even he, who has been worse educated than myself, [23][having learnt][23] music from Lamprus,[24] and oratory from Antipho[25] of Rhamnous,[26] would be able to gain a reputation by praising Athenians, at least in the presence of Athenians.

[4.] *Men.* And what would you have to say, were it requisite to speak?

Soc. Myself perhaps nothing from myself. But only yes-

[19] Ficinus alone has "Græcorum omnium."

[20] Respecting the oratorical powers of Pericles, see the commentators on Phædrus, p. 269, E., Aristoph. Ach. 476, Eupolis Δήμοις Fr. vii., and Quintilian x. 1, 82.

[21] For an account of this remarkable woman see the commentators on Xenophon, M. S. ii. 6, Aristoph. Ach. 472, Maxim. Tyr. xxiv. and xxviii., and Harpocration in Ἀσπασία.

[22] Connus is again mentioned in Euthyd. p. 272, C., as the music-master of Socrates.

[23]—[23] The word παιδευθεὶς is evidently unnecessary after ἐπαιδεύθη.

[24] Of Lamprus little is known except what is to be gathered from C. Nepos in Epaminond. § 2, Plutarch ii. p. 1142, and Athenæus ii. p. 44.

[25] Respecting this orator, see Ruhnken's "Dissertat. de Antiphonte." According to Thucydides viii. 68, "he was the best to think upon a question, and, what he had thought upon, to express."

[26] This was one of the wards of Athens.

terday I heard Aspasia going through a funeral oration on these very persons. For she had heard what you tell me, that the Athenians were going to choose the person to speak. And then she went through partly on the instant what it would be proper to say, and partly what she had formerly thought of, when it seems she was composing the funeral oration that Pericles pronounced,[27] and was glueing together some scraps from that.

Men. Could you remember what she said?

Soc. Unless I do her wrong. At least I learnt it from her, and I almost received some cuffs, because I was forgetting it.

Men. Why then do you not repeat it?

Soc. (I fear) my mistress may be offended, if I make her discourse public.[28]

Men. (Fear) not, Socrates, at all; but tell it, and you will gratify me greatly, whether you choose to call it the speech of Aspasia, or of any one else; only speak it.

Soc. But you will perhaps laugh at me, if I, an elderly man, appear to be still acting the boy.

Men. Not at all, Socrates: but do speak it by all means.

[5.] *Soc.* Since then I must gratify you,[29] so as even, should you order me, to undress myself and dance,[30] I will gratify you; since we are alone.[31] Listen then; for she spoke, commencing, as I think, with the mention of the dead themselves in this manner.

As regards our acts, these here have received all the honours due to them; and after receiving them, are now proceeding on their fated road, having been sent onward by the state in

[27] To this passage is to be traced the notion of Synesius, that the funeral oration put into the mouth of Pericles by Thucydides, ii. 35, was the production of Aspasia.

[28] On this use of *ἐκφέρειν*, see Fischer on Xenophon K. II., vi. 1, 5, *τοῦτο ἐτόλμησε ἐξενεγκεῖν*. The Latin word is "efferre." Cicero de Orator. § 24, "Petamque a vobis ne has meas ineptias efferatis." There is an allusion here to the secrets of the Mysteries. See Lucian in *Νεκυομαντ.* § 2.

[29] This is said because Socrates feigned himself to be unable to resist the charms of beauty in young persons. Compare Meno, § 9.

[30] On the dancing of Socrates see Lucian *Περὶ Ὀρχησ.* § 25, and Xenophon, M. S., quoted by Athenæus i. p. 21.

[31] This formula is found in Aristoph. Thesm. 472, and in Plato, Parmen. p. 137, A.

common, and individually by their families and friends. But as regards our words, the honour still left undone the law enjoins us to pay to the men; and it is meet to do so. For of deeds performed nobly the remembrance by a well-spoken speech is an honour paid to those, who have acted, from those who hear. There is need then of such a discourse, as shall praise sufficiently the dead, and kindly advise the living, by exhorting the descendants and brethren of the dead to imitate their valour, and by comforting their fathers and their mothers, and whoever of their ancestors more remote are still alive. How then shall such an oration present itself? Or from whence shall we rightly begin to praise those brave men, who, when living, delighted their friends with their valour, and bartered their death for the safety of those who survive.

To me it seems that we must praise them on the ground of their nature, as they were by nature good. Now they were good by being sprung from the good.[32] Let us then celebrate, in the first place, their noble birth; in the second, their nurture and education; and afterwards let us show forth their conduct in practice, how they proved it to be honourable and worthy of those[33] (advantages). [6.] In the first place, the commencement of their nobility was in the birth of their ancestors, not being in-comers, nor exhibiting their descendants as foreign settlers in the land, [34][themselves coming from elsewhere,][34] but sprung from the earth,[35] and dwelling and living in their own country really; (and) nursed, not like other nations, by a step-mother,[36] but a parent, the very land which they inhabited, and in which they now lie dead; in the

[32] So Horace, "Fortes creantur fortibus."

[33] Although *τούτων* might perhaps refer to "birth, nurture, and education," one would prefer *ἑαυτῶν*, as in Thucyd. vi. 40, *πόλις ἥδε—ἀμυνεῖται ἀξίως αὐτῆς*.

[34]—[34] To the words *ἄλλοθεν σφῶν ἡκόντων* Dionysius was the first to object. They are perfectly useless after *ἔπηλυς*.

[35] On the boast of the Athenians, who called themselves *Αὐτόχθονες*, and wore, as the symbol of their birth, a grasshopper in their hair, see Herodot. vii. 161, Thucyd. i. 2, and other subsequent writers. The story is disbelieved by Livy, in i. 8, "natam e terra sibi prolem ementicabantur;" and Macrob. Somn. Sup. i. 2; and is ridiculed by Lucian in Philo-Pseud.

[36] A similar distinction between a mother and step-mother, as applied to a country, is found in Plutarch, Apophthegm. p. 760, ed. R., Velleius Paterc. ii. 5, and Petronius, quoted by Gottleber.

places[37] of the mother which begat and nursed them, and received them (again) beneath her.[38] Most just then is it to celebrate first the mother herself; for thus at the same time it results that the noble birth of these here is made their adornment.

[7.] And worthy is this land to be praised by all men, and not by ourselves alone, on many other grounds, but on this the first and greatest, that she has the good fortune to be loved by the gods. And to this my assertion the quarrel of the gods,[39] who contended for her, and their decision, bear testimony. Whom then the gods have praised, how is it not just for her to be praised by all mankind? Her second praise would be justly this, that at the very time when the whole earth sent up and produced animals of all kinds, both wild beasts and cattle, this land of ours was seen to be unprolific of, and free from, savage beasts; and of all animals selected and produced man, who surpasses all the others in intellect, and alone acknowledges Justice and the Gods.[40] Now of this assertion there is a great proof in that this land has produced the ancestors of these men, and ours also. Now every

[37] In lieu of *τόποις*, Ficinus has "visceribus;" which led West to translate "bosom," and myself to read *κόλποις*: which is put beyond all doubt by the Epigram in Demosth. *Περὶ Στεφάν.* § 289, *Γαῖα δε πατρὶς ἔχ' ἐν κόλποις τῶν πλεῖστα καμόντων Σώματα.* Erycus Epigr. 12, *Χθών με καὶ ἡ κόλποις ὕστατα δεξαμένη.* Epigr. Inc. 544, *Γαῖα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κρύπτει τόδε σῶμα Πλάτωνος.* Chrysostom. Homil. vi. p. 80, E., *ἡ κοινὴ πάντων ἡμῶν μήτηρ τοὺς κόλπους ἁπλώσασα.* Meleager Epigr., *Γᾶ—τὰν πανόδυρτον Ἡρέμα σοῖς κόλποις, μᾶτερ, ἐναγκαλίσαι.* So too in the Latin Epitaph on Publ. Scipio, "Quare libens te in gremium recepit Terra;" and Pliny, H. N. ii. 63, "Terræ propter eximia merita cognomen inditum maternæ venerationis—Quæ nos nascentes excipit; natos alit; editos (read, 'adultos') sustinet; novissime complexa gremio—ut mater operiens."

[38] This is the correct explanation of *ὑποδεξαμένης*, as seen by Schleiermacher; who might have quoted Æsch. Cho. 127, *Καὶ γαῖαν αὐτὴν, ἣ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται, Θρέψασά τ' αὖθις τῶνδε κῦμα λαμβάνει*: and Eurip. Suppl. 536, *Καὶ πάντα γῆν θρέψασαν αὖτ' αὖ δεῖ λαβειν*: from whence it is plain that *αὖ* has dropt out between *καὶ* and *ὑποδεξαμένην*. Loers, however, and Stalbaum, explain *ὑποδέχεσθαι* by "suscipere," "to take up." But such a meaning is applicable only to a person taking up the children deserted by their parents.

[39] On this contest between Athéné and Poseidon, see Ovid. Metam. vi. 70.

[40] So Cicero Legg. ii. 8, "Nullum est animal præter hominem, quod habeat notitiam dei."

thing that brings forth, possesses food fitted for that which it may bring forth; by which fact is clearly shown what woman is really the mother, and who is not, but merely a supposititious one, should she not possess the fountain[41] of nourishment for the child. This very sufficient proof does our land and mother afford of her having produced men; for at that time she alone and first brought forth the corn of wheat and barley,[42] as the food of man, and by which the human race is nourished in the best and easiest[43] manner, as having in reality produced that very animal. And such proofs it is fitting to receive rather in favour of the earth than of the woman. For the earth did not in conceiving and producing imitate woman, but woman imitated the earth; neither did this land enviously withhold these her fruits, but distributed them to others. In the next place, she sent up for her offspring the olive, an assistance in toil;[44] and after she had nourished and reared them up to manhood, she introduced to them gods[45] for their rulers and teachers, whose names it is fitting upon such an occasion[46] to omit. For we know who have given the materials for life, by teaching us first[47] the arts requisite for our daily subsistence, and instructed us in the acquirement and the use of arms for the protection of our country.

[8.] Thus born, and educated, lived the ancestors of these persons, after having framed a polity, which it is well to bring in a few words to your recollection. For a polity is the nurse of men; a good one of good men, and the contrary of bad. It is necessary then to show, that our ancestors were brought up under a good polity, through which both they became good, and those also who are now; amongst whom

[41] This expression Plato adopted perhaps from *πηγὰς—μόσχων* in Eurip. Iph. T. 162.

[42] This story is repeated by Lucretius, vi. 1.

[43] To avoid perhaps an hendyadis, Ficinus has "commodissime." Plato wrote, I suspect, *κάλλιστα καὶ ῥᾷστα*, not *καὶ ἄριστα*—

[44] So in Protag. p. 334, B., *τὸ ἔλαιον—σώματι ἀρωγόν.*

[45] The gods alluded to are Athéné, Ares, and Hephæstos, as shown by Legg. p. 920, D.

[46] During a funeral; as is shown by Demosthenes in Timocrat, *τῆς δὲ (Σεμέλης) υἱὸν ὄντα οὐ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ τάφου ὀνομάζειν.*

[47] The word *πρώτους*, which is an evident corruption, is omitted by Ficinus.

the dead here happen to be a part. The same polity was then, as it now is, an aristocracy; under which we still live as citizens, and for the most part (have done so) from that time to this. One person calls it a democracy, another by another name, such as he pleases. But it is in truth [48] a government by the best, combined with a good opinion of the people.[48] For kings have ever existed with us, at one time hereditary, at another elected,[49] but the people possessing for the most part the power of the state, has delegated the offices and government to those, who were successively deemed to be the best; and no man has ever been excluded from the want of influence or wealth,[50] or his ignorance of his parentage,[51] nor held in honour for the contrary qualities, as is done in other cities; but there was only one limitation; that he, who was deemed to be wise and good, should possess the power and office. Now the cause of this polity is the equality of birth. For other states are made up of men of every country, and of unequal conditions; so that their polities, as well tyrannies as oligarchies, are of unequal character. They therefore live, some considering each other as slaves, and some as masters. But we and ours, born all brethren, from one mother, consider ourselves neither the slaves nor the lords of each other; but that the equality of our births, according to nature, compel us to seek an equality of government, according to law, and to yield to each other upon no other ground, except the reputation of valour and of mind. [9.] Hence it is that the fathers of these men, and ours also, and themselves too, being thus nurtured in all freedom, and nobly born, have exhibited before all men many and glorious deeds, both in private and public, deeming it their duty to fight for freedom and in behalf of Greeks even against Greeks, and against

[48]—[48] Such seems to be the meaning of the words *μετ' εὐδοξίας πλήθους, ἀριστοκρατία.* Compare Thucyd. ii. 65, *ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου* (or rather *ἀρίστου*) *ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή*: and Aristotle Polit. iii. 3, *εἴ τίς ἐστιν, ἣν καλοῦμεν ἀριστοκρατίαν, ἐν ᾗ κατ' ἀρετὴν αἱ τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν.*

[49] This alludes to the second Archon, called Βασιλεύς, "king."

[50] The same fact is mentioned by Thucyd. ii. 37. According to Plutarch, Aristides was the person, who got a law passed to enable the Archons to be selected from the poorer people, as well as the richer.

[51] To such ignorance Juvenal alludes—"Vos humiles, inquis, vulgi pars ultima nostri, Quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis."

barbarians in defence of Greeks combined. But how when Eumolpus and the Amazons[52] brought an army against the country, and enemies even still before them, they defended themselves, and how they defended the Argives against the Cadmeans,[53] and the Heracleidæ against the Argives,[54] the time is too short to relate worthily; and poets too have already hymned sufficiently their valour in verse, and pointed it out to all; and should we now attempt to adorn the same subject in a prose discourse, we should perhaps appear to be only second to them. For such reasons then it seems right to pass over these matters, especially since they have received their due. But such acts, as no poet has yet thrown round[55] them a renown suited to their worth, and which are still in remembrance, all these it seems I ought by praising to call to mind, and by introducing them to others make them a subject for songs and other kind of poetry in a manner becoming the actors. Now of those to which I am alluding, the chief are these. When the Persians were taking the lead in Asia and attempting to enslave Europe, the children of this soil and our forefathers arrested their course; whom it is both just and necessary to remember first and to praise their valour. He however who would praise it properly, ought to have been born in word,[56] and lived an eye-witness at that very period,

[52] Valckenaer on Eurip. Phœn. 541, observes that Plato has been here guilty of an anachronism. For the Amazons invaded Attica not in the time of Eumolpus, but of Theseus, by whom they were conquered; whereas it was against Erectheus that Eumolpus was engaged in war, as stated by Thucydides, ii. 15. Isocrates has taken especial care to avoid the anachronism in Panegyr. § 19, Ἦλθον εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν Θρᾷκες μὲν μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, Σκύθαι δὲ μετ' Ἀμαζόνων, τῶν Ἄρεως θυγατέρων, οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον: who has however in § 18 alluded to the story of the Amazons, which Strabo, in xi. p. 770, considers to be merely a fable.

[53] The story alluded to is told briefly by Herodotus, ix. 27, and by Isocrates, in Panegyr. § 15, and rather differently in Panathen. p. 524. For the length of time doubtless made it difficult to arrive at the truth.

[54] On this story see the Heracleidæ of Euripides.

[55] The Greek is λαβὼν: which I altered many years ago into βαλὼν. —For the poet does not "receive," but "confer" glory, as shown by "Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori." And though one would expect περιβαλὼν, as in Isocrat. Archidam. § 44, αἰσχύναις ἡμᾶς περιβαλεῖν, yet the preposition is omitted in λύπην—βαλεῖς in Soph. Phil. 67, and βαλεῖς χαρὰν in Eurip. Ion, 751.

[56] In lieu of λόγῳ, omitted by Ficinus, Stephens suggested λέγω, with which may be compared φημὶ in § 10, and λέγω in § 12.

when the whole of Asia was subject to its then third monarch. The first of these was Cyrus; who after effecting the freedom of the Persians, his countrymen, did through his high spirit reduce the Medes his (former) masters to slavery, and became the ruler of the rest of Asia, as far as Egypt. His son (Cambyses) subdued Egypt, and as much of Libya as it was possible to march against. The third, Darius, made Scythia the boundary of his empire by land, and by his fleet commanded the sea and islands, so that no one presumed to be his opponent. The very thoughts of all men were enslaved; so many, and great, and warlike nations did the Persian power reduce to subjection.

[10.] Now Darius having accused us and the Eretrians of plotting against Sardis,[57] made it a pretence for sending an army of five hundred thousand men[58] [59]in ships and transports, and a fleet[59] of three hundred sail, and ordered Datis, their commander, to return and bring back the Eretrians and Athenians captive, if he wished to keep his own head on. Datis sailing to Eretria against a people, who amongst the Greeks of that time were in the highest repute for the affairs of war, and not few in number, got these very men into his power in three days;[60] and that none might escape, he searched through the whole country after this fashion. His troops having marched to the boundaries of Eretria, and extending themselves from sea to sea, they joined their hands, and thus went through the country, that they might be able to say to the king, that not a person had escaped. With the same design they sailed down from Eretria to Marathon, as being an easy thing for them to unite in the same fate the Athenians with the Eretrians, and to carry them off. During these transactions, some of which were done and others attempted, none of the Greeks gave any assistance to the Eretrians; nor, except the Lacedæmonians, to the Athenians; and they did not arrive till the day after the battle.[61] All the rest, struck with terror, and

[57] See Herodotus, v. 101.

[58] Cornelius Nepos says there were only 200,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Pausanias and Valerius Max. 300,000 foot.

[59]—[59] This repetition of ἔν τε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσὶ, ναῦς δὲ τριακοσίας, does not look like Plato's style; to say nothing of πλοῖα in the sense of "transports." The passage is evidently corrupt.

[60] Herodotus, in vi. 101, says in seven days.

[61] For according to Herodotus, in vi. 106, they were detained at home

contented with their present safety, kept themselves quiet. Now a person living at that period would have known what men of valour they were, who at Marathon sustained the strength of the Barbarians and punished the pride of all Asia, and first erected trophies over the Barbarians, and became the leaders and teachers to the rest (of Greeks),[62] that the power of Persia was not invincible, and that all wealth and all numbers must yield to valour. I say then that these men were the fathers, not only of our bodies, but of the liberty likewise of ourselves and of all together on this continent.[63] For by looking upon that exploit did the Greeks dare to hazard subsequent battles for their own preservation, and to become the pupils of those at Marathon. [11.] To these, then, must we in reason assign the first honours; and the second to those, who fought and conquered in the sea-fights at Salamis and Artemisium. Now of the deeds of those men, one would have much to tell, both as to what masses of troops, advancing by sea and land, they stood up against, and how they repelled them. But that, which seems to me to be their noblest act, I will bring to your recollection; because they worked out the deeds that followed upon those of Marathon. For they at Marathon only proved thus much to the Greeks, that it was possible for a few of them to repel many of the Barbarians; but by sea it was still uncertain. For the Persians had the reputation of being invincible at sea, through their superiority in numbers, and wealth, and skill, and strength. Truly then was this deed worthy of praise on the part of those men, who then fought at sea; inasmuch as they dispelled the dread, by which the Greeks had been fast bound, and caused them no longer to fear a multitude of ships and men; and it resulted from those, who fought at Marathon and Salamis, that the other Greeks were taught; and by learning from one party on land, and from the other at sea, they became accustomed to feel no fear of the Barbarians. The action at Platæa was the third, I assert, in number and in valour, that took place

by a sacred festival; while the Scholiast says here that they were prevented from marching, because the moon was not at the full.

[62] In lieu of τοῖς ἄλλοις, the train of ideas evidently leads to τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι, as just afterwards τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας.

[63] By "this continent" is meant Greece. Without the deictic article it would have meant Asia.

(for)[64] the safety of Greece; in which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians had a common share. Now this the greatest and most difficult exploit did they all assist;[65] and for this their valour they are both now celebrated by us, and will be by those hereafter in the time to come. Subsequent to this, many states of Greece still sided with the Barbarian; and the king himself was reported to have a design of making an attempt once more upon the Greeks.

[12.] It is just then for us to bear in remembrance those, who to the exploits of their forefathers put the finish in our deliverance, by clearing themselves from, and driving away, the whole Barbarian power from the sea. Now these were they, who fought in the naval battle at Eurymedon,[66] and they, who were in the expedition to Cyprus,[67] and who sailed to Egypt,[68] and to many other places. Of these we ought to have a recollection, and to acknowledge our thanks to them; because they caused the king[69] to fear for, and to attend to, his own safety, and not to be plotting for the destruction of the Greeks. Now (the whole of)[70] this war was endured to the end[71] by the whole power of the state in behalf of ourselves and others, speaking a common language, in opposition to the Barbarians. But when peace[72] was made, and the city held in honour, there fell, as is wont, upon the successful, first rivalry from men, and after rivalry envy, which placed

[64] As there is nothing on which *τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς σωτηρίας* can depend, Ficinus seems to have introduced "causam" after "salutis Græciæ" out of his own head; unless he found in his MS. *πέρι* after *σωτηρίας*.

[65] The Greek is *ἤμυναν*, to which Gottleber was the first to object, and in lieu of it he suggested *ἤνυσαν*, what Stalbaum feels half disposed to adopt. Bekker has edited *ἠμύναντο*, found in five MSS. Perhaps Plato wrote *ὑπέμειναν*, i. e. "endure."

[66] This took place in Ol. lxxviii. 3, B. C. 466. Thucydides, in i. 100, says that the Athenians took thirty triremes, and destroyed in all about two hundred vessels.

[67, 68] On these combined expeditions, see Thucyd. i. 94 and 104, and Diodor. Sic. xi. p. 459, ed. Wess.

[69] "The king" of Persia.

[70] Before *πάσῃ*, Stalbaum ingeniously conjectures that *πᾶς* has dropt out.

[71] With *διηντλήθη ὁ πόλεμος* compare "bella exhausta" in Virgil.

[72] This is generally supposed to be the peace made by Cimon with the Persians, to which there is an allusion in Isocrates, Aristides, and Plutarch. Some, however, of the scholars of Germany have asserted that no such peace was ever made.

this city, although unwilling, in a state of hostility with the Greeks. [13.] Hereupon a war breaking out, the Athenians came in collision with the Lacedæmonians at Tanagra, and fought in defence of the liberties of Bœotia; and as the battle was undecisive,[72] the action afterwards[73] brought matters to a decided issue. For some went away, leaving the Bœotians,[74] whom they had been assisting; while our troops, after obtaining a victory, on the third day,[75] at Œnophyta, justly brought back those, who had been unjustly driven out. These then were the first after the Persian war, who, in behalf of liberty, gave their assistance to Greeks against Greeks; and being men of bravery, they freed those whom they were assisting; and, held in honour by the state, were buried in this cemetery here the first. After this, a great war arose, and all the Greeks brought an army against us, ravaged our country, and unworthily repaid the obligation they owed to the state. But our troops, after defeating them in a sea-fight, and taking the Lacedæmonian[76] leaders prisoners in the island of Sphagia,[77] did, when it was in their power to destroy, spare and give them up, and made a peace, conceiving that in a war with a fellow-tribe[78] one ought to carry on the contest only to the point of victory, and not, through the resentment of a particular state, to destroy the common interest of Greece; but against the Barbarians to war even to utter destruction. Fitting then is it to praise such men, who after being engaged in that war, now lie buried here; because they showed that,

[72] Thucydides says, in i. 108, that the victory was on the side of the Lacedæmonians.

[73] This alludes to the battle of Œnophyta, where the Athenians gained the day.

[74] Bekker would expunge *Βοιωτοὺς* entirely. For the Lacedæmonians assisted the Thebans, and not the Bœotians.

[75] According to Thucydides, it was the sixty-second day. Hence in lieu of *τρίτῃ*, Clinton, in Fast. Hellenic. p. 256, proposed to read *τρίτῃ ξ′*, i. e. "sixty-third."

[76] As not only the leaders of the Lacedæmonians were taken prisoners, but their whole army likewise, Stalbaum says we must either read with two MSS. *ἡγεμόνας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους* or *ἡγεμόνας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους*—

[77] This island near Pylus is more commonly called *Σφακτηρίᾳ*—and so read seven MSS. at least.

[78] How the Athenians and Lacedæmonians could be called *τὸ ὁμόφυλον*, I cannot understand. The sense requires rather *τὸ ὁμόφωνον*—as in § 12.

if any one doubted whether in the former war against the Barbarians some others were (or not) superior to the Athenians, he doubted without reason. For they there proved, when Greece was in a state of dissension, their superiority in war, by their getting into their hands even those, who had stood forward in defence of the other Greeks, and by defeating single-handed those, with whom formerly they had conjointly overcome the Barbarians. [14.] After this peace,[79] there was a third war, unexpected and terrible, in which many brave men fell, who lie buried here; and many too about Sicily, after they had erected very many [80]trophies in behalf of the liberty of the Leontines, to assist whom in accordance with their oaths[81] they sailed to those regions; but when, through the length of the voyage, the state was in difficulties, and unable to minister to their wants, their hearts failed them, and they were unsuccessful; [82]of whose temperate conduct and valour their enemies and antagonists have poured forth greater praise than have friends on the conduct of the others.[82] Many likewise (fell) in the Hellespont,[83] after having taken all the ships of the enemy in one day, and gaining many other

[79] This peace of one year is mentioned by Thucyd. iv. 117.

[80] These, says Stalbaum, were the victories at Myle and Syracuse, mentioned by Thucydides and Diodorus. But they were too few in number to be called *πλεῖστα*. I suspect however that Plato wrote *κάλλιστα*—For though not many, they were still most honourable.

[81] This refers to the fact stated by Thucyd. in iii. 86, and vi. 19.

[82]—[82] Loers and Stalbaum agree in rejecting all the words between the numerals as an interpolation. I trust however I restored the author to himself, in my edition of the Greek text, by simply altering *ἔχουσι* into *χέουσι*—where *χέειν* is applied to praise, as "fundere" is to "laudes" by Lucretius. The origin of the metaphor is to be traced to Homer; who has in Οδ. Λ. 432, *αἶσχος ἔχευε*: in Οδ. Ξ. 38, *ἐλεγχείην κατέχευας*: in Οδ. Χ. 469, *κατ' ὀνείδεα χεῦαν*. So too Æschylus—*εὐκταῖα χεούσας* in Suppl. 631, and *Εὐοδίαν*—*χέομεν* in Glauc. Fr. Pindar likewise in Pyth. x. 86, *ὅπα*—*προχεόντων*: in Isthm. viii. 128, *Θρῆνον*—*ἔχευαν*, after the Homeric *χέει πολύγηρυν ἀοιδήν*: from whence Fritzsche has happily corrected *ἰὰν χέων* for *ἰακχέων* in Œd. T. 1222. With regard to the sentiment, compare Suidas in *Κράτερος*—*Κράτιστος δ' ἄρ' οὗτος, ὅτου τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τῷ ἐπαίνῳ συμφωνούσης ἔχει*. With respect to *τοῖς ἄλλοις*, the allusion is to the Lacedæmonians, who had assisted the Syracusans, but had probably given offence by the austerity of their manners to the more luxurious inhabitants of Sicily.

[83] Engelhardt refers this to the naval engagement at Cyzicum, (B. C. 410,) mentioned by Xenophon, Hellen. i. 1, 18.

victories. But what I said as to the terrible and unexpected nature of the war, by that I mean, that the other Greeks carried to such an extent their feeling of animosity to this state, as to dare to make overtures by an embassy to the king of Persia,[84] their greatest foe, and to bring in again for their particular interests that person against the Greeks, whom they had, in common with us, driven out, and to collect an allied army of all[85] the Greeks and Barbarians against this city. Upon which occasion the strength and valour of the state became very conspicuous. For when our enemies fancied it to be already beaten down in war, and had intercepted[86] our ships at Mitylene, then did these men, confessedly the bravest, go in person on board the vessels, and giving assistance with sixty sail, gained a victory[87] over the enemy, and delivered their own friends; but meeting with unmerited misfortune in not having their bodies picked up at sea,[88] [89] they lie where they ought not.[89] These it is our duty ever to remember and to praise. For by their valour we were victorious, not in that engagement only, but through the rest of the war; for through them the state gained the reputation, that it would not be beaten down in war,[90] not even by all men (combined).

[84] This was Darius Nothus; whose name is not mentioned by Thucydides in viii. 18, where the terms of the alliance are given.

[85] As the Athenians were themselves Greeks, the word *πάντας* would include them too amongst the others. Perhaps Plato wrote *ἐπιόντας*— For it was not sufficient merely to collect an army; but it should be stated likewise that the troops marched against the city; and it was to fill up this idea that Ficinus translated "ad hanc urbem obsidendam colligere."

[86] By the Spartan admiral Callicratidas. See Xenophon Hellen. i. 6, 24.

[87] This was gained B. C. 406, near Arginusæ, a small island between Lesbos and the continent. Above seventy triremes were taken or destroyed, and of the ten Lacedæmonian vessels only one escaped.

[88] As the bodies were not recovered, they were left without the rites of burial, which the Greeks held to be a great misfortune; and hence, for their neglect, the Athenian commanders were tried, and six of them executed.

[89]—[89] The Greek is *κεῖνται ἐνθάδε*. But as the bodies were not picked up at all, they could not be lying at Athens. Hence Wesseling wished to read *οὐ κεῖνται ἐνθάδε*: in lieu of which I suggested, sixteen years ago, *κεῖνται, ἔνθ' οὐ δεῖ*, as I have translated. To meet the difficulty, Stalbaum considers the words *οὐκ ἀναιρεθέντες ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης* an interpolation.

[90] This could hardly be said with truth in the face of the victory gained by

And the reputation was founded in truth. We have been beaten by our dissensions, not by others. By them at least we are even now unsubdued. But we have subdued ourselves, and (in turn) have been subdued. After these transactions a calm ensuing, and peace made [91] with all the others, a domestic war [92] was carried on in such a manner, that were it fated for men to fall into dissensions, every person would pray that his country might be no otherwise in disorder. For how delightedly and familiarly did the people of the Piræus, and those of the city, mingle with each other! And contrary to the expectations of the other Greeks, with how much moderation [93] did they lay aside their hostility against those at Eleusis! And for all these acts there was no other cause than their real consanguinity, producing a firm friendship and clanship, not in words, but deeds.

[15.] It is meet then to hold in remembrance those too who died in that war by each other's hands, and to reconcile them, as we best can, by offering prayers and sacrifices on these occasions to the deities,[94] who now have them in their power, forasmuch as we ourselves are also reconciled. For not through malice and hatred did they lay hands upon each other, but through their evil fortune. And of these facts we are ourselves the living witnesses; for, being of the same family with them, we have forgiven each other for what we have done and suffered. After this the city had rest, and enjoyed a profound peace, pardoning the Barbarians, who, having been ill enough [95] treated by this state,

Lysander at Ægos-Potamos, and which led to the occupation of Athens itself by the successful Spartan commander—events on which Plato has very cleverly said nothing.

[91] This alludes to the peace made with Lysander, by which the Athenians were forced to destroy the long walls that united the city with the sea.

[92] This refers to the period, when Thrasybulus acted against the thirty so-called tyrants, appointed by Lysander to govern the city.

[93] Of the moderation shown by the people towards the partisans of the thirty tyrants who had retired to Eleusis, Cornel. Nep. in Thrasybul. § 2, gives a remarkable proof, by stating that when the peace was made, it was agreed that no one but the thirty tyrants should suffer in person or in purse.

[94] The deities were the powers below. Compare Eurip. Alc. 257.

[95] Bekker would omit *ἱκανῶς* after *κακῶς*. But Engelhardt, with whom Stalbaum agrees, defends it, as being balanced by *οὐκ ἐνδεῶς*.

defended themselves not insufficiently; but she felt a resentment against the Greeks, when she remembered what a return they had made, after they had been well treated by her, by uniting with the Barbarians, and depriving us of the very fleet, which had formerly saved them, and by pulling down our walls, by which [96] we had prevented their own from falling. The city then having determined not to assist Greeks, enslaved by each other or the Barbarians, remained thus.[97] While then we were in this mood, the Lacedæmonians, fancying that we, the aiders of freedom, were fallen, and that now was the time for them to enslave the rest, attempted to do so. [16.] But what need is there to be prolix? For I should speak of subsequent events that are not of old date, [98]nor before the time of many men still living.[98] For we know that, to obtain the aid of this city, there came terror-struck the leading men amongst the Greeks, Argives, and Bœotians, and Corinthians; and, what was the greatest miracle[99] of all, how even the king came into such a difficulty, as to think there was no safety from any other quarter than from this very city, which he had [100]previously, with great eagerness,[100] attempted to destroy. And indeed, should any one wish to accuse the state on just grounds, he would rightly accuse her by stating this alone; that she is ever too full of pity, and the hand-maid of the weaker party. For at that very time she was not able to be firm, and to keep to her resolution, of not assisting those, when in the act of being enslaved, who had injured her own citizens:[1] but she was bent from her purpose, and did give assist-

[96] In lieu of *ἀνθ' ὧν* Ficinus found in his MS. *ὑφ' ὧν*, as shown by his "quibus." Boissonade however, on Nicetas, p. 322, defends *ἀνθ' ὧν*, and says it is put for *ἀνθ' οὗ*.

[97] Instead of *οὕτως*, I have suggested *αὖτως*, "at leisure." Compare Hom. Il. A. 133, *αὐτὰρ ἔμ' αὖτως Ἡσθαι δευόμενον*.

[98—98] The MSS. vary between *οὐδὲ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν* and *οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων*. Heindorf on Gorg. p. 448, A. § 3, suggested *οὐδὲ πολλῶν ἄνω γενεῶν*. Bekker, *οὐδ' ἐπ' ἄλλων*—By uniting the readings of the MSS., I elicited, sixteen years ago, *οὐδὲ πρὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ὄντων*, as I have translated.

[99] This is the best rendering of *θεῖον*, by which was meant a thing sent by a divine power, or was the work of one.

[100—100] In lieu of *προθύμως*, Stalbaum has adopted *πρόσθεν* from two MSS. Plato probably wrote both, as I have translated.

[1] The pronouns *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς* are to be referred to *πολίτας*, which is to be obtained from *πόλις*.

ance; and by such aid so delivered them from slavery, that they were free men, until they again made themselves slaves. She did not however dare to assist the king, through a feeling of reverence for the trophies of Marathon, and Salamis, and Platæa; but, by permitting merely the exiles[2] and volunteers to assist, she did confessedly preserve him; and after building her walls and fleets, and undertaking a war, when compelled to do so, she carried on hostilities with the Lacedæmonians for the protection of the people of Paros.[3]

[17.] The king however being afraid of the city, when he saw the Lacedæmonians declining a war by sea, and desirous to withdraw himself, made a demand[4] for the Greek colonists on the continent, whom the Lacedæmonians had previously consented to give up,[5] if he were to join with us and our allies in war; conceiving that, as we should not comply with it, there would be a pretence for withdrawing himself. In the case of the other allies he was deceived; for the Corinthians, and Argives, and Bœotians, were willing to give them up,[6] and entered into a treaty, and confirmed it by oaths, [7][to give up the Greeks on the continent,][7] if he would furnish the money supplies. But we alone did not dare to give them up, nor to be a party to the oaths. To such an extent was carried the noble and liberal conduct of the state, at once solid and

[2] This alludes to Conon, who, after the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Ægos-Potamos, fled to Euagoras, the ruler of Salamis in Cyprus; by whom other exiles from Greece and Athens especially were favourably received, as we learn from Isocrates in Euag. p. 302.

[3] Of the war undertaken by the Athenians in defence of the Parians nothing is told elsewhere. Krüeger, in Histor. Philolog. Studien. p. 225, would read Ῥοδίων, referring to Xenophon Hellen. iv. 8, 20—25, and Diodor. xiv. 94—97. Bentham thinks the allusion is to a naval victory, gained by Chabrias over the Lacedæmonians between Naxos and Paros, as mentioned by Xenophon, Hellen. v., and Diodorus, xv.

[4] See Thucyd. viii. 56.

[5] This was actually done subsequently at the peace of Antalcidas. See Xenophon Hellen. v. 1. But the chronological order of events which Plato has generally followed; makes such an allusion to be here out of place.

[6] Schoenborn conceives that Plato alludes to the bribery, of which the Corinthians, Argives, and Bœotians were guilty, when, as stated by Xenophon in Hellen. iii. 5, Timocrates the Rhodian was sent by Tithraustes to purchase a confederacy against the Lacedæmonians; in which the Athenians joined indeed, but with clean hands.

[7]—[7] The words within brackets are evidently superfluous.

sound, and naturally a hater of Barbarians, through our being of pure Greek blood, with no mixture of Barbarian. For neither the [8] Pelopses, Cadmuses, Ægyptuses, Danauses,[8] and many others, Barbarians by birth, but Greeks by law, are dwelling with us; but we are very Greeks; not a mixed Barbarian breed; and hence the genuine hatred of a foreign nature has been instilled into the state. Designedly,[9] then, we were again[10] left alone, from our unwillingness to do a deed disgraceful and unholy by giving up Greeks to Barbarians. Returning then to the same condition as when we were formerly beaten down in war, we did, with a god's assistance, lay down hostilities more successfully than at that period. For we were freed from it, possessing ships, and walls, and our own colonies; and so too,[11] contentedly, were our enemies freed from it. We lost, however, in this war some brave men, who met with a difficult country[12] in Corinth, and with treachery at Lechæum. Brave, too, were those, who freed the king, and drove the Lacedæmonians from the sea.[13] These are the men I am bringing to your recollection; and such as these it becomes all of you to join in praising and investing with honours.

[18.] Such were the exploits of the men who lie buried here, and of the rest, who have died for the state. But though many and honourable are the deeds already related, still many more and more honourable are those, that have been left (untold); for many days and nights would not suffice[14] for him,

[8]—[8] On the use of these plural proper names Loers quotes Theæt. p. 169, B., Ἡρακλέες τε καὶ Θησέες. Add Phædr. p. 229, D., Γοργόνων καὶ Πηγάσων. Lucian, in Micyll., Κέκροπας—ἢ Σισύφους ἢ Τηλέφους. So Shakspeare, "I think there be six Richmonds in the field:" and Milton, "Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire."

[9] In lieu of ὅμως, which I cannot understand, Plato wrote, I suspect, as I have here translated, ἐννόως.

[10] It is not easy to state what was the previous occasion.

[11] Instead of οὕτως, the sense requires, as I have translated, ὡσαύτως.

[12] This difficulty of the country may be inferred from Xenophon, in Hellen. iv. 4, who states, moreover, that by the treachery of Pasimeles and Alcamenes, Praxilas was admitted into Lechæum, a harbour in the bay of Corinth.

[13] These were the troops, military and naval, under Conon, as shown by Xenophon in Hellen. iv. 8.

[14] So Cicero, "Dies me deficiat, si, quæ dici possint, coner exprimere." Athen. xi. p. 506, ἐπιλίποι μ' ἂν ἡμέρα, quoted by Gottleber; who might have added Hom. Od. Λ. 327, Πάσας δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι—Πρὶν γάρ κεν καὶ νὺξ φθεῖτ' ἄμβροτος.

who should go through them all. It is the duty then of every man to bear those deeds in mind; and, as in battle, to exhort the offspring of such men not to leave the ranks[15] of their ancestors, nor, yielding to cowardice, to retire rearwards. And I do myself both now exhort you, the children of brave men, and shall hereafter, wherever I may meet with any of you, remind and exhort you to be ever ready to be the bravest of men. But for the present, I feel justified in telling you what the fathers of these men enjoined me to proclaim to their survivors, if they themselves suffered aught, when they had determined to encounter danger. I will tell you then what I heard[16] from them, and what, if they possessed the power, they would now gladly say to you themselves, as I conjecture from what they said then. Imagine, then, you hear them speaking what I now relate as their messenger. These were their words.

[19.] O children! that ye are indeed the offspring of courageous fathers the present deed itself declares. For when it was in our power to live with dishonour, we chose to die with honour, rather than bring you and those after you into disgrace, and shame our own fathers and all our ancestors,[17] conceiving that to him, who dishonours his family, life is no life; and that to such a fellow there is no man or god upon earth a friend, while (living),[18] nor under it, when dead. It behoves you then to keep these our words in remembrance; and if you practise any thing else, to practise it with valour, well knowing that, deficient in this, all other possessions and pursuits are base and wrong. For neither does wealth bring honour[19] to him, who possesses it with a want of manliness, since such a one is rich for another and not for himself; nor do beauty and strength of body, when they dwell with the coward and the knave, appear becoming, but unbecoming

[15] Compare Herodot. vii. 10; ix. 48, Thucyd. ii. 87, and Demosth. Ol. iii.

[16] As Plato does not state when, where, or how he heard the subsequent speech of the dead, there is probably some error in *ἐκείνων*.

[17] There is a similar sentiment in Homer, Ιλ. Ζ. 209, *Μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχύνεμεν*.

[18] To preserve the balance of the sentence, *ὄντι* must be inserted between *οὔτε* and *ἐπὶ*—

[19] So I have translated to prevent the repetition of *κάλλος*. For Plato wrote, I suspect, *πλοῦτος καλὸν φέρει τι*—

(rather), and make the possessor more conspicuous, and show off his cowardice. Moreover, all knowledge, when separated from justice and the other (parts) of virtue, appears to be knavery[20] and not wisdom. On this account then endeavour to have, as the first and last aim, through all time and by all means, every readiness to surpass to the utmost ourselves and ancestors in glory. For if not, rest assured that, should we conquer you in valour, the victory brings disgrace upon us; but defeat, if we are defeated, a state of blessedness. Now we shall be vanquished the most, and you obtain the victory, if you prepare yourselves not to abuse the glory of your ancestors, nor to expend it wastefully; being convinced that, for a person who thinks himself to be something, there is nothing more disgraceful, than to exhibit himself as held in honour, not on his own account, but the renown of his forefathers.[21] For hereditary honour[22] is to descendants a treasure honourable and magnificent. But to use up the treasure of riches and renown, and from the want of one's own wealth and good repute, [23]not to hand it down to posterity is an act both disgraceful and unmanly.[23] Should you then pursue these objects, you will come to us as friends to friends, whenever your destined fate shall bring you below; but if you disregard them and become debased, not one of us will receive you kindly. Thus much let it be told to our children. [20.] But our fathers and mothers, that are surviving,[24] it is very meet to soothe into the supporting as easily as possible their calamity, should any such happen to arise, and not to lament with them—for they do not need any thing to pain them—for their present misfortune is sufficient to produce

[20] So Cicero, Offic. i. 19, "Scientia, quæ est remota a justitia, calliditas potius quam sapientia est appellanda."

[21] Instead of *προγόνων*, two MSS. and ed. Bas. 2, offer *προτέρων*; answering to "superiorum" in Ficinus. Perhaps Plato wrote *ἑτέρων*, as opposed to *ἑαυτὸν*—So Juvenal in vii. 70, "miserum est aliorum incumbere famæ."

[22] Cicero Offic. i. 23, "Optima hæreditas a patribus traditur liberis—gloria virtutis."

[23—23] A similar sentiment is to be found in Thucyd. i. 71, ii. 62, and Arist. Polit. v. 11.

[24] Instead of *οἷς εἰσὶ*, where there is no syntax, one MS. has *οἵοι εἰσὶ*, which leads to *ὅσοι σῶοί εἰσι*—

that—but to heal and mitigate their sorrow, by reminding them, that the gods have hearkened to what they especially prayed for. [25]Since they did not pray for their children to be immortal, but to be brave and renowned,[25] both of which, the greatest of all blessings, they have obtained; although it is not easy for every thing to turn out in the case of a mortal in this life according to his wishes. By bearing too their misfortunes like men, they will be thought to be in reality the parents of manly children, and to be such themselves; whereas by giving way they will raise a suspicion that they are none of ours, or that the persons who praise us are telling an untruth; neither of which things ought to be; but they ought rather to be themselves our eulogizers, exhibiting by their acts [26]themselves as seeming to be in reality[26] the fathers, men of men.[27] For the old proverb, "Nothing too much,"[28] seems to be well said; and in fact is well said. [29]For by what person so ever all that leads to happiness, or nearly so, is made to depend upon himself, and not upon others, by whose well or ill doing his own acts are compelled to waver, by such a one has the best preparation been made for living (well).[30] This is the man of moderation; [31]this the man of courage and prudence;[31] and this is he, who, whether his property and children exist or are destroyed, will best obey the proverb; for through trusting to himself, he will be seen to indulge neither in joy nor sorrow overmuch.[29] Such men do we hold, and wish, and assert our relatives to be; and such we now exhibit ourselves, by not feeling too much of reluctance, nor

[25]—[25] So Xenophon, on hearing of the death of his son, said, "I have prayed to the gods not for my son to be immortal, but to be brave,"—as we learn from Plutarch. Hence Addison makes Cato say, on a similar occasion, "The gods be thanked; my boy has done his duty."

[26]—[26] The Greek is *αὐτοὺς φαινομένους τῷ ὄντι πατέρας ὄντας*—where Engelhardt alone has seen that *φαινομένους* and *ὄντας* could not be thus united. Plato wrote, I suspect—*αὐτοὺς, οὐ τοὺς φαινομένους, τῷ δὲ ὄντι*—i. e. "themselves not the seeming, but being in reality—" Compare Aristoph. Ach. 416, *Εἶναι μὲν, ὅσπερ εἰμὶ, φαίνεσθαι δὲ μή.*

[27] On this collocation of words see Heusde Specim. Crit. p. 129.

[28] The same proverb is alluded to in Charmid. § 27.

[29]—[29] The whole of this passage is translated by Cicero in Tuscul. v. 12, and alluded to in part in Epist. Famil. v. 13.

[30] Between *ζῆν* and *οὕτως* I suspect *εὖ* has dropt.

[31]—[31] To these three virtues Cicero, De Invent. ii. 53, adds justice; and the four together are called the cardinal virtues.

too much of fear, should it be needful to die on the instant.[32] We entreat then both our fathers and mothers to pass the remainder of their lives in adopting the very same sentiment; and to be assured that they will gratify us the most by not lamenting and bewailing us; and that if the dead have any feeling[33] for the living, they will be the least agreeable to us by disfiguring[34] themselves and bearing ill their misfortunes, but that they will please us the most by supporting them lightly and with moderation. For our state is about to have[35] an end, which is the most honourable among men; so that it is becoming rather to glorify than to lament it. By acting then as guardians and nurses to our wives and children, and by turning their minds to such employments, they will in the best way become forgetful of their misfortune, and lead a life more honourable and more correct, and more agreeable to us. Such does it suffice to tell our relatives from us. But we would exhort the state to be the guardian of our parents and children, by giving to the youth of the latter a well-regulated education, and to the old age of the former a worthy support; although we are well assured, that even if we did not so exhort, there would be taken a sufficient care.

[21.] Such then, ye children and parents of the dead, did they enjoin us to tell you; and I have, with the greatest readiness possible, told you their message. And I do myself beseech some of you to imitate your relatives, and others to feel a confidence in yourselves, that we are all, in our private and public capacities, about to support the old age of some, and to be the guardians of others, wherever each one may meet with any of them. And surely ye know yourselves the carefulness

[32] This sentiment is strangely put into the mouth of those already dead. Instead then of εἰ δεῖ τελευτᾶν, one would have expected εἰ δεῖ δὶς τελευτᾶν, "if it were needful to die twice." See myself on Crito, § 6, n. 4, and the Commentators on "bis patiar mori" in Horace.

[33] A similar sentiment is to be found in Isocrates Euagor. p. 368, Plataic. § 24, Lycurgus in Leocrat. § 136, Hyperides, quoted by Stobæus, p. 618, Galen. Protrept. § 7, and Sulpicius in Ciceron. Epist. Famil. iv. 5.

[34] This alludes to the custom of women especially, disfiguring their persons, and beating their breasts, and tearing their hair, under the influence of excessive grief for the death of those dear to them.

[35] The future ἕξει seems strangely said of those, who had arrived already at the end of their life. The sense requires rather ἔχει—

of the state, how that by laying down laws[36] respecting those who have died in war, it takes charge of their parents and children; and how it has been enjoined upon the magistracy, that is the greatest,[37] to watch over them especially, above all the other citizens, so that the fathers and mothers of such may receive no injury; while it brings up together[38] the children, through its great desire that their orphanhood may be as little conspicuous as possible; since it stands in the place of a father to them, while they are still children; and when they come to man's estate, sends them to their own homes,[39] having first dressed them in a complete suit of armour, thus pointing out and reminding them of the pursuits of their fathers, and giving them the instruments of their fathers' valour; and at the same time, by way of a good omen, (bidding them)[40] commence their return to the paternal hearth, about to command[41] with strength, as having been decked in arms. The dead too it never fails to honour, by performing each year the established rites for all in common, which have taken place, as is fitting,[42] individually for each; and in addition to this, by appointing games both gymnastic and equestrian, and of all kinds of poetry; and by standing really in the place of an heir and son to the dead, and in that of a father to children, and in that of a guardian to parents and such-like relatives, it takes upon itself all care of all for all time. Keeping then these things in mind, you ought to bear

[36] According to Aristotle, in Polit. ii. 6, the law at Athens was the imitation of a similar one first introduced at Miletus by Hippodamus.

[37] That is the first Archon, according to Meier, De Lite Attica, p. 44. But Pseud-Ulpian, in Demosthen. Timocrat. p. 445, says it was the third Archon, called Πολέμαρχος.

[38] This was in the Orphan-House, situated in the Acropolis, as may be inferred from the Meno, p. 89, B., *τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰς φύσεις ἂν παραλαβόντες ἐφυλάττομεν ἐν Ἀκροπόλει, ἵνα,—ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοιντο εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν, χρήσιμοι ἐγίγνοντο.* The fact is alluded to in Thucyd. ii. 46, but the place is not mentioned; and so it is in a fragment, probably of Ælian, quoted by Suidas in *Ἀμύνασθαι*.

[39] As the pronoun *σφέτερας* is reflective, it cannot be applied with propriety to the homes of the youths. Æschines, in Ctesiph. § 154, has more correctly *ἀφίησι τρέπεσθαι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν.*

[40] Ficinus has alone, what the sense requires, "jubet."

[41] I cannot understand *ἄρξοντα.* I could have understood *πράξοντά τι*, "about to do something."

[42] The Greek is *ἰδίᾳ ἑκάστῳ ἴδια·* where Bekker would expunge the second *ἴδια*; which I would alter into *οἷα δεῖ*, as I have translated.

your calamity more lightly; for thus you will be the most dear to the dead and living, and most ready to give and to receive comfort. And now do you and all the rest, having in common, according to custom, wept fully the dead, depart.

[22.] Such, Menexenus, is the speech of Aspasia of Miletus.

Men. By Zeus, Socrates, you proclaim Aspasia to be a happy person, if, being a woman, she is able to compose such speeches as these.

Soc. If you do not credit it, follow me, and you shall hear her speak it herself.

Men. I have often, Socrates, met with her, and know what kind of woman she is.

Soc. What then, do you not admire her, and owe you no thanks to her for this oration?

Men. I owe indeed, Socrates, many thanks either to her or to him, whoever was the person who told it you; and before all others, to him who has now spoken it.

Soc. All will be well; but see that you do not say a word against me, in order that I may hereafter tell you many and beautiful discourses on state affairs.

Men. Be full of confidence. I will say nothing. Do you only tell them.

Soc. So shall it be.